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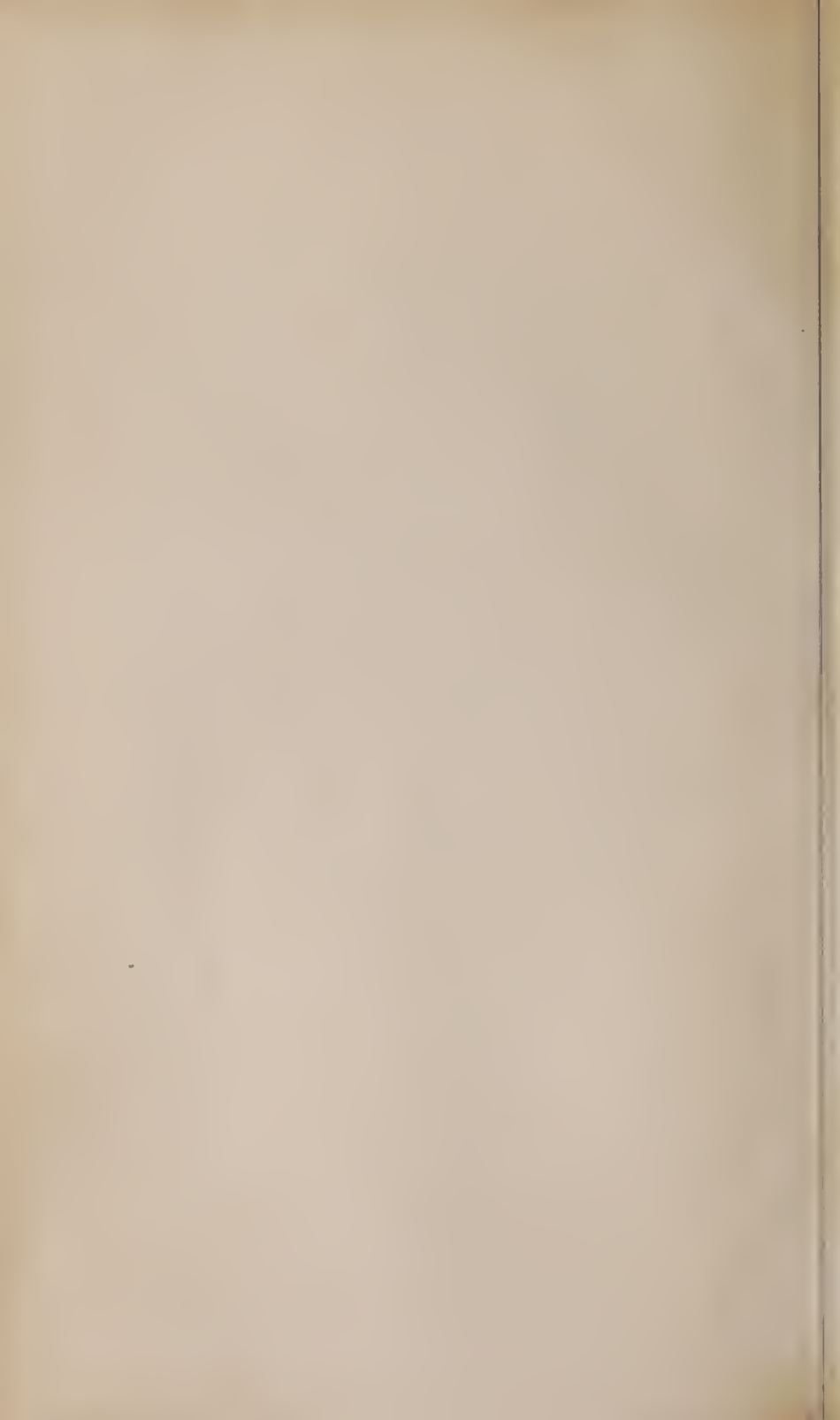
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THE
AFRICAN REPOSITORY,
AND
COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. 23, 1847.

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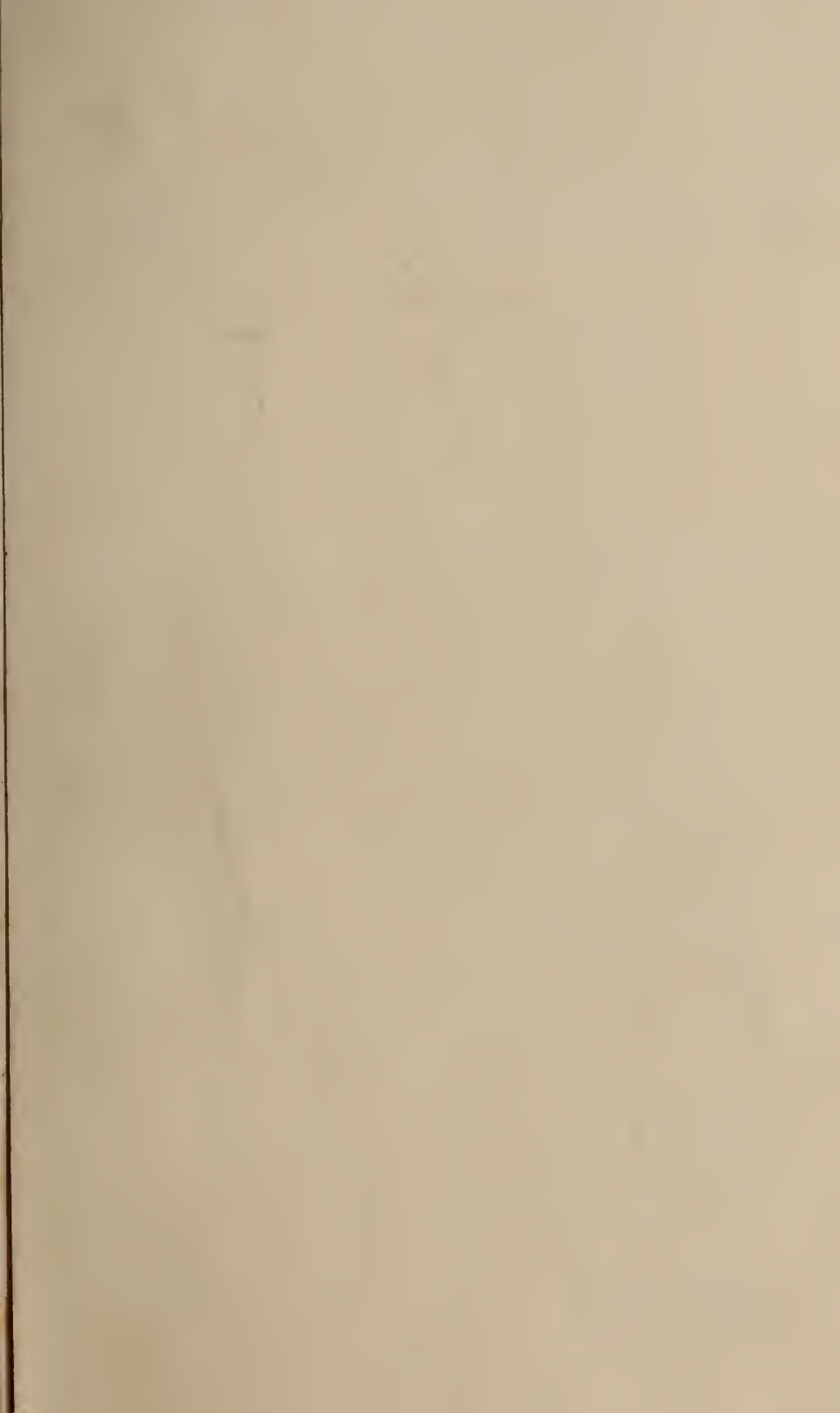
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THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY,

AND

COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. XXIII.]

WASHINGTON, APRIL, 1847.

[No. 4.]

Address of Judge Bullock.

IN this number we have the pleasure of laying before our readers the very able and interesting address of Judge Bullock, of Kentucky, delivered at the anniversary of the Kentucky Colonization Society. We trust none of them will fail to peruse it. The sentiments it contains are worthy of their earnest consideration.

We have learned that the anniversary of that Society was attended with much that was calculated to encourage the friends of the cause in that State, and throughout the country. We trust that it will not be long until every one of the Southern States is blessed with as efficient an organization, and will engage as heartily and successfully in the great work.

"The condition of the African race, as a part of our population, and the consequent duty which devolves upon us as citizens, is the subject to which your attention is invited.

It will be admitted that the questions necessarily involved are eminently practical. The destiny of a large class of our population, and the effects which that population is

exerting, and must continue to exert upon the character of our institutions, present a question which forces itself upon our serious and anxious consideration.

What is our duty in reference to the free colored population of the United States? That is the question. I speak of our duty in that enlarged and comprehensive sense, which includes all our obligations—our duty to ourselves, to our fellow men, and to God. It is, therefore, necessary that we should rightly understand our own interests, and at the same time have a just and enlightened appreciation of the rights of others.

The political condition of this class, as presented to the eye of the statesman and philanthropist, is a subject of serious difficulty, if not of apprehension and alarm. Such is the nature and force of public sentiment, that though relieved from personal bondage, the man of color is excluded from all the essential rights and immunities of the citizen. A free and equal participation in the rights of citizenship is not only denied to him, but every attempt to assert the justice of the claim is fiercely denounced, and not unfrequently accompanied with acts of

oppression and outrage. Even in those communities where there is supposed to exist the greatest sympathy for this class, he is excluded from that full participation in the privileges of the government, which confer character and dignity upon the citizen. It might be supposed, from the loud clamor of the Abolitionists, that the people of the north were fast approaching to that period when the blacks were to occupy the broad platform of equal rights. It is not doubted that such is the wild dream of the enthusiast. But such is not the result of a calm and sober observation of passing events. On the contrary, there is a fixed and unalterable determination to widen and deepen the political distinctions between the two races. Such is the inevitable tendency of the laws of nature, and of the current of human events. Notwithstanding the ardent zeal and indefatigable efforts which have been made, to extend to the blacks an equal participation in the privileges of the Government, no perceptible progress has been made, even in the free States, towards the accomplishment of this purpose.

The only effect which has been produced by the mistaken zeal, and ill-directed efforts of the Abolitionists, has been the deep agitation of the public mind, resulting in an increased and accumulating weight of prejudice against the unfortunate objects of their sympathy and regard.

For more than half a century, in many of the States of this Union, the man of color has been freed from the shackles of personal bondage, and left to struggle with his destiny. What progress has he made in the elevation of his caste? Where have his equal rights been practically recognized?

The pages of our history are barren of the evidences of his social and po-

litical advancement. Whilst our Government has afforded an asylum to the nations of the earth, and its glorious immunities and privileges are freely bestowed upon all, the African, brought here against his will, is made to occupy in his best estate, a condition of unqualified inferiority. We are forcibly reminded of the prophetic curse, "God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant."

Political degradation is the inevitable fate of the African, so long as he remains under the influence of American institutions. The difference of color, the recollection of his origin, his natural instincts, the peculiar habits impressed upon him by a long course of servility and bondage, even the memory of his wrongs mark him as the victim of political and social proscription.—This is a truth which cannot be disguised. We cannot fail to see it in all the events which are passing around us. Look at that spacious edifice wrapped in flames! It is the Hall of Freedom, erected for free discussion, and dedicated to liberty of speech. Men and women, who had peaceably assembled to exercise the dearest rights of spiritual and intelligent beings, are driven forth by an infuriated populace. The man of genius, whose thoughts "burst from his soul with the fire and indignant energy of an ancient prophet"—the woman, the embodiment of all that elevates and adorns her sex, and who religiously believed that she was engaged in a mission of Christian sympathy—these, and such as these, are the victims of popular indignation. It was a meeting of those who honestly believed in the right of political and social equality, and advocated its unqualified extension to the whole human family. The conflagration is not the work of a midnight incendiary. It

was not done in a transport of fury. It was the fearless execution of the deliberate purpose of a great majority of the people.

Such a manifestation of popular prejudice cannot be mistaken. It is evident that there must be a powerful and sufficient cause, which lies at the root of this public sentiment. The most corrupt political party, a convention of atheists, might have assembled within the same walls with perfect security from external violence. It was not because they were fanatics. There is nothing peculiar in the fanaticism of the Abolitionists, that it should meet with such indignant retribution. The true cause is satisfactorily developed, when we refer to the fact that the public mind is radically opposed to the *social equality* of the two races. With equal political rights, the barrier to social equality is at once removed, and practical amalgamation is the consequence. It is this principle which so stirs the depths of society, and renders it impossible that equal rights shall ever be extended to the colored race.

We have no evidence of any change of public sentiment upon this subject. Very recently the question has been directly presented to the people of New York, and decided by an overwhelming expression of public opinion. The extension of the right of suffrage is utterly denied to the colored population by the organic law of the State. So deeply seated and universal is this sentiment in the non-slaveholding States, that the efforts of the Abolitionists are no longer directed to the amelioration of the condition of the free people of color, within their own limits, but to the abolition of slavery within the slave States.

What is the condition of this class in those communities where their rights are most cherished and re-

spected? This question can be best answered, by inquiring what have they gained by liberation. They are thrown upon their own resources, and endowed with the power to acquire and hold property. No longer subjected to the control of a master, they enjoy the right of pursuing the dictate of their own reason, subject only to a just accountability to the laws of the State. It may be supposed that this is a most important acquisition. They are to this extent free. But the essence of freedom is wanting. They have no voice in originating the laws by which they are governed, and no participation in the administration of those laws, no matter how dearly their interests may be effected. The protection of life, liberty and property is lodged in other hands.— They are thus deprived of the strong and powerful motives which ennoble and dignify the character of the citizen. The constitution and the laws recognize them as a degraded and inferior caste. It is undoubtedly true, that there have been and are noble specimens of humanity among this ill-fated people. But no strength of character has enabled them to surmount the barriers which the constitution and the laws, aided by inexorable public sentiment, have thrown in their way. Look at the condition of the mass of this population. What are the relations which they sustain to society and the Government? It is unquestionably true, that this is the most unproductive class of our people, and is eminently distinguished as idle, dissolute and unthrifty. Such has been, and is now, the magnitude of this evil, where this population prevails to any extent, that it is frequently exposed to the outbreak of licentious popular fury. It is the inciting cause to the grossest violations of justice. It has not unfre-

quently happened that they have been driven by lawless violence from the bosom of that society, whose duty it was to cherish and protect them. On a late occasion, the attempt to colonize the freed slaves of the late John Randolph, within the limits of a sister State, was vehemently opposed with strong expressions of popular disapprobation. The reason is an obvious one. A Government like ours can derive no strength or support from such a population. The strength of our Government is in the virtue, intelligence and patriotism of its citizens. And what effect this growing mass, uninstructed in virtue, unenlightened by knowledge, and unredeemed by the sentiments of patriotism, may exert upon the future destinies of our country, time alone can develop.

It is confidently asserted, that as a class, occupying the position assigned them by our laws, and the public sentiment of the land, their moral, mental and physical condition must and will deteriorate. The eye of reason discerns the cause in the nature of man. *He is oppressed.*—The motives to exertion, and the rewards of virtuous ambition are denied him. His pride of character is sapped at the root, and has nothing to sustain it. Tell me not that the cause is to be found in the inferiority of his nature. That nature is the gift of God, endowed with the capacity, and clothed with all the attributes of man. Under the influence of his own clime, it will expand as it has expanded into the proportions of intellectual and moral grandeur.

This truth is indelibly inscribed upon the page of history. Carthage once disputed with Rome the supremacy of the world. The rugged and snow-clad summit of the Alps, not less than the sunny plains of Italy, has been rendered classic

ground by the impetuous valour of her sons. Neither the wise and skilful retreat of a Fabius, nor the heroic firmness of a Scipio could save the Roman legions from the bold assaults of Numidian and Carthaginian valour. “Not Rome, but the Senate of Carthage, has conquered Hannibal,” was the heroic exclamation of him who had planted his victorious standard at the gates of the imperial city. In boldness and intrepidity of character, in indomitable courage, in military genius and commercial enterprise, Africa challenges a comparison with the proudest nations of antiquity. She, too, was once the seat of science.—That now darkened and benighted land has given to the world the illustrious names of a Tertullian, a Cyprian and an Augustine. The efforts which are now making on the Western coast of Africa are a proud vindication of the claims of her children to the rank of freemen. If prudence and discretion, a manly independence of character, a just regard for the rights of others, an intimate and thorough acquaintance with the principles of regulated liberty, are just and proper elements of national character, the people of Liberia deserve the respect, the confidence and admiration of the civilized world.

It is evident, therefore, that the cause of the degradation to which the African is subjected in America, is the result of the necessary relations he sustains to government and to society. Government shelters him, it is true; but it affords no sustenance to his moral nature—it does not, it cannot shelter him from the blighting influence of public sentiment. His nature is dwarfed by the impenetrable shade in which he lives. No life-giving influence penetrates the latent energies of his soul. No high born hopes are awakened in his bosom, to prompt him to deeds of no-

ble daring. The faculties of his nature are never stirred within him by the noble impulses which make ambition virtue. His ear is never saluted with the plaudits of a grateful people. The civic wreath or the hero's chaplet is never permitted to grace his sable brow. He is the victim of proscription. Even the rewards of patient industry are embittered with a curse. Wealth, whilst it entails upon him the burdens of the Government, cannot elevate him to the social rank and true dignity of the citizen. Is this freedom? Are these the blessings which it bestows? Is this *the* freedom which the Abolitionist would extend to the objects of his solicitude, as sufficient to satisfy the cravings of their immortal nature?

The necessary and obvious effect of the causes to which I have referred is fully developed in the character of this people. They are singularly deficient in enterprise, industry and foresight. Their improvidence and unthriftiness are proverbial. Hence it is that we find them congregated in villages and towns and cities, devoting themselves to the most menial pursuits of life. As a natural consequence, they are prone to idleness, with all its attendant evils. The free colored communities in our land nowhere present the cheering spectacle of a healthy, robust and active population. The moral causes which are actively at work produce their necessary and natural results. Whilst all other communities, under the beneficent influence of our free institutions, are moving forward with rapid strides to the accomplishment of their high destiny, this class constitutes a melancholy exception. Whilst the oppressed of other lands acquire new strength and spring forward with elastic vigor as soon as they touch our shores, we look in vain for such

indications of progress in the liberated African. He is an exotic that does not and cannot flourish in American soil. There is that in the character of our institutions and in the nature of man which forbids it. The sad destiny of this unhappy race is presented to our daily observation in colors which cannot be exaggerated. They are surrounded by a growing population, instinct with life, and multiplying with a rapidity unequalled in the history of modern times, whilst they are crowded into dense settlements and subjected to the fatal operation of causes which surely mark them as the victims of ruin and decay.

Thus exposed to the combined operation of moral and physical causes, which are constantly at work to sap the energies of their nature, they necessarily sink in the scale of being. This fatal tendency continues and acquires additional force as time rolls on. The outward pressure and overshadowing influence of the millions around them is increasing apace, whilst their recuperative power is diminishing with each succeeding generation. It does not require the gift of prophecy to foretell their melancholy fate.

This aspect of the subject presents a dismal picture to the mind of the philanthropist and the Christian. A race of fellow beings pining and wasting away under the influence of causes as certain in their operation as the laws of Nature herself!—Every practical observer has witnessed the development of this truth. It is so well understood and appreciated, that the public policy of most of the States has demanded, as a just prerequisite to emancipation, that bond and security shall be given, that the subject of it shall not become a charge to the Commonwealth. Go to those communities where this class of population is

collected in the largest numbers, and you cannot fail to detect upon the aggregate masses the certain traces of social decay. The fearful symptoms of disease in the man who is wasting with consumption, are not more readily detected by the experienced physician.

Unless they are rescued by active benevolence from the fatal effects of these causes, and transplanted to a region where the shackles of the soul will be removed, their doom is inevitable. This thought, startling as it may seem to the unreflecting and the sceptical, unfolds to the mind of the christian philanthropist the designs of a wise and beneficent Providence. It vindicates the ways of God to man. Even the dark and eventful past, burdened with the sighs and tears of captive millions, is not without its meaning, fraught with consolation and with hope. We see the hand of a merciful God conducting the children of men through fiery trials, that they may at last return laden with the blessings of civil and religious liberty. Behind the dark cloud, which looks to be charged with the wrath and fiery indignation of an offended God, the eye of faith catches the smile of mercy and of love. Oh! that men would but follow the indications of the Divine will, and submit to the teachings of an overruling providence! Then the path of duty would be made plain before us. Then the facts to which I have alluded would rise up before us in all the majesty of truth, and human reason, instead of attempting to force the laws of nature, would direct its efforts in accordance with the purposes, and in humble dependence upon the will of that merciful Being who controls the destinies of men.

It cannot be that no good is to be evolved from the dealings of God with this people. We have the blessed assurance, that "He doth not

willingly afflict the children of men." His laws are eternal. He has not stamped upon the African a distinctive color, and marked him with peculiar characteristics without a purpose. He has not written with his own finger upon the human heart, that law which forbids the amalgamation of the races, without intending that it should be obeyed. He has *graciously* permitted the incalculable evils which result from the existence of this peculiar and distinctive class. He does not speak to us, either by signs or wonders, or "in the still small voice," without intending to remind us of our duty. These are the lights which should guide our feet—they are the indications of unerring wisdom, and proclaim in language not to be misunderstood, that the children of Africa must be restored to their native land.

But we are not left alone to the inductions of our own feeble reason. The light of revelation dawns upon us. "Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands unto God." Africa shall be redeemed. The darkness which has enveloped her for ages shall be dispelled by the glorious light of the gospel. The return of her own children is the appointed means for scattering the blessings of civilization and the truths of religion over that dark and benighted land. If we may judge of the future by the past, this is the *only* effectual means for attaining this glorious end. Whilst the efforts at colonization by the whites on the African coast have been rendered almost abortive by the fatal effects of the climate, they have had but little or no effect in civilizing the natives of that continent.

All the efforts of the civilized world have been unavailing to suppress the accursed slave trade. Neither that noble act of our own Government, in which she has been followed by most of the nations of Christendom,

declaring the mereiless traffic to be piracy, nor the equally enlightened and humane policy of the British Government, enforced by the power of her navy, and illustrated by the genius and the virtues of a Wilberforce and a Clarkson, could effect this object. "It appears," in the language of an eminent writer, "that notwithstanding these benevolent and persevering efforts, this horrid traffic in human flesh is nearly as extensively carried on as ever, and under circumstances perhaps of a more revolting character. During the period from 1819 to July, 1823, it is supposed that nearly 100,000 human beings were annually transported as slaves from different parts of the coast, of whom more than 43,000 were legally imported into one city."

The only effectual remedy for this evil is to dispel the thick darkness which has for ages brooded over the intellect of Africa—it is to arouse her sons to a consciousness that they are men, and to let in the light of Divine truth upon the darkened intellect of the nation. This cannot be accomplished except by the colonization within her own borders of the natives of the land.

All history and experience prove that the climate is fatal to the white man; whilst they furnish the highest evidence that it is not only congenial to the physical, but that it exerts a powerful and salutary influence upon the moral and intellectual nature of the liberated African. He lives and flourishes where the white man decays and dies. The only sensible impressions which have been made on the barbarous and savage tribes have been mainly through his instrumentality. These truths are most clearly illustrated by a reference to the history of African Colonization.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century, the idea of colonizing

the free blacks or re-captured slaves on the western coast of Africa was first presented to the public mind. Lord Mansfield had decided, in 1772, that the slave who touched the soil of Britain was therefore free. In consequence of this decision, a number of blacks in England left their masters and were wanderers upon the face of the earth. That distinguished man who had rendered himself so illustrious by the defence of Somerset, Granville Sharp, formed the benevolent design of transporting them to Africa. A colony, principally consisting of the idle, the ignorant, and the dissolute, was thus planted at Sierra Leone in 1787. Afterwards, in 1792, about 1,200 negroes, who had been seduced from their masters during the Revolutionary War, were landed at the same place. Up to the period of 1807, this colony was wholly dependent upon private and individual enterprise. Since that time, it has been under the patronage and protection of the British government. And notwithstanding the serious difficulties resulting from the peculiar character of the colonists, they now give the most decided and cheering evidences of moral and physical improvement. Villages and towns and settlements have risen up, and are rapidly extending the circle of their influence.

Civilization has thus obtained a foothold, and as her resources are multiplied by the growth of population and of wealth, her achievements will become more glorious and enduring. The silent yet certain effects of civilization thus introduced and thus extended, will do more in all time to come to protect the defenceless tribes of Africa than the combined power of the British navy.

The idea of colonization as a practicable means of relieving the country of this evil, was also conceived at a

very early period in the history of our government. In 1777, Mr. Jefferson, under a deep conviction of the enormity of the evil, recommended that some provision should be made for this object. He seems at first to have contemplated an appropriation of a portion of the public domain ; but no practicable or efficient scheme was developed. The Legislature of Virginia, in 1804, in secret session, instructed Mr. Monroe, then Governor of the State, to open negotiations with the President to see what could be done. Again, in 1816, the Legislature of the same State passed a series of resolutions, recognizing fully the purposes and objects of the American Colonization Society. In the same year this Society was organized, composed of men of the most distinguished talents and enlightened public spirit. The work is now begun in the midst of opposition from the North and from the South.

In 1819, the first agents of the Society were sent out to examine the western coast of Africa, and to report. Encouraged by the representations then made, in 1820, the first emigration from this country to Africa was undertaken. In the year following, the hardy and adventurous colonists, after triumphantly encountering the most violent opposition from the natives, succeeded in making a lodgment upon the coast. It may be truly said, however, that the first permanent settlement was not made until the year 1824. From that period down to 1835, the Society continued to gain upon public confidence. Its high claims to public patronage had been distinctly recognized by the Legislative authorities of fourteen States. Emigrants applied as fast or faster than they could be sent out.

At this time the Abolitionists were aroused to a violent opposition to

the scheme of colonization. They seemed to be alarmed by the success which had attended its efforts.

The direct and immediate effects of their opposition to the cause of colonization, were to awaken the deepest prejudices in the mind of the free negro, and at the same time to rivet the chains of the slave. It had another effect. In the slave States, amongst the ignorant and uninformed, it involved the advocates of colonization in the same indiscriminate censure with rabid Abolitionists, whilst in the free States it presented them as the abettors of slavery, and the worst enemies of the African race.

It may readily be supposed that at this time and under these circumstances, the progress of colonization was greatly retarded. But in nothing has the hand of a wise and merciful Providence been more signally displayed. There was great danger that the infant colony of Liberia would become burdened with a population which it could not sustain. It required time to organize its government, to mature its plans, and to increase its resources. To have been overrun with emigrants, of which there was at one time great danger, would have proved a serious calamity. But during this period the support of the parent society was partially withdrawn—they were left to stand alone, that their capacity for civil government might be more fully developed, and that they might be the better prepared, by trials and hardships, for the glorious mission to which they have been assigned.

What has been the result? The documentary history of Liberia contains indisputable evidence of high capacity in all the departments of Government. Their firmness and discretion ; their heroic courage and high sense of justice, as evidenced in their intercourse with the natives,

command our unqualified respect.—The diffusion of education, the equal and enlightened administration of justice, and the free course which is given to the word of God, contain the assurance that the sacred deposit of human liberty is safe in their hands.

This colony, with its dependencies, numbers about five thousand inhabitants. It now rises to our view an infant republic. Her citizens are discussing with all the lights which history and philosophy can furnish, the expediency of taking position at once amongst the nations of the earth. There is a calm deliberation, an enlightened forecast, and a moral intrepidity here displayed, which do honor to human nature, and cannot fail to awaken the generous sympathy of the civilized world.

This is the glorious instrumentality by which the blessings of civilization, and the truths of Christianity, are to be bestowed upon millions of the human family.

African colonization constitutes a new epoch in the policy of the world. Other colonies in ancient and modern times have been planted by cupidity or ambition. But the establishment of colonies for the purposes of civilization, and based upon principles of love to God, and good will to men, is an achievement of the present age, and one of the blessed triumphs of the Christian religion.

We are not apt in making our calculations of the progress of events, to take into the estimate the silent yet wonderful force of moral causes. We can calculate the momentum and probable effects of fleets and armies, but the results to be produced by the light of truth bursting and beaming upon the awakened intellect of a nation, are beyond our feeble comprehension. We are sometimes led to doubt the efficiency of such a cause, because it is silent and gradual in its

operation. But this is not the induction of sound philosophy. That power which is most sensibly felt in the physical universe is the Sun, which visits us in the silence of the morning. His advent is so noiseless that he does not wake an infant in his cradle. So it is with the light of truth. It is clothed with a Divine energy. Under its benign influence the mind of the nation will expand, and its faculties will be gradually unfolded, bringing forth the fruits of civilization, the blessings of liberty, and the hopes of immortality.

I have spoken of the evils which result from the existence of this peculiar class in the midst of our population, and of the incalculable benefits to be derived from emigration. But whilst it is conceded that the condition of the negro may be improved, and that Africa may be civilized by such means, it is said that the scheme of colonization is impracticable, and that its means are wholly inadequate to relieve the country from this accumulating evil. It may be said that the giant of the new world has not sufficient strength to rise under this mountain weight.

This dispondency, so unworthy of the American character, is the result of a false apprehension of the nature and extent of the evil to be removed and of the means to be employed for its removal.

The annual increase of this class of population, according to the present census, may be estimated at 75,000. A wise and just system of colonization requires that none should be removed but the young, the healthy, and the vigorous. They are best prepared for the untried scenes of a new life, and they have more time for moral and intellectual improvement. If, therefore, our resources were applied to the removal of those from fifteen to fifty-five years of age, leaving behind the ex-

tremely young, and the old who are sinking from age, how soon would we get upon the descending scale and sensibly reduce the annual product. Thus every year the evil would be lessened, whilst the means for its removal are increasing.

The fact should not be forgotten in this connection, that the free negro population of the United States, is comparatively unproductive. It is the fresh accession which it is constantly receiving from the newly emancipated slaves, which imparts to it its principal strength.

It is only necessary to bring the public will to bear upon this subject, and the object is attained. The annual expenditure for such a purpose would scarcely be felt. Look at the amount of emigration annually to our shores by the poor of Europe, based upon their own private means, and then compare their ability with the resources of a mighty nation. The time is rapidly approaching, when the same powerful motives, which stimulate the oppressed of Europe to seek our shores, will be brought to bear with ten-fold power upon the free colored population of the United States. Every company of emigrants which lands in Liberia, is increasing and strengthening the ties which bind them to their father-land. There is a steady current of thought and feeling in this one direction. The rapid transmission of intelligence, constant and increasing intercourse, and the free interchange of commodities, will bring the brethren of the two continents into close and familiar contact. All the present dread and apprehension of the dangers, which await them on a far distant and inhospitable coast, will be lost in the earnest desire to join their brethren in the land of promise. Every gale which sweeps across the broad Atlantic, will waft a message of love.

The question then, will not be, who will go, but who will longer remain in captivity and in exile?

Let it be remembered also, that as Liberia is extended and grows in wealth and population, the difficulties of emigration will be proportionably diminished. Not only will the prospect of a happy home, surrounded by the comforts of civilization and refinement, present a strong inducement to the man of property, but the poor and the enterprising will be tempted to seek an asylum where industry and merit will be rewarded. Thus the wealth, the energies and enthusiasm of this entire class, will swell the tide of public munificence and be directed in the proper channel. The notes of preparation will be heard throughout the length and breadth of our land. The strong and irresistible current of popular feeling will be in one direction. The mighty work will be accomplished.

Why should it be doubted? Is it because statesmen are silent upon the subject, and the glorious results which it contemplates have not been dreamed of in their philosophy?—We must learn from the history of the past, that the course of events has not always been determined by political management. If we would judge aright, we must take our view from a more elevated position—we must ascend upon higher ground.—The grand epochs in the history of man have been signalized by higher and nobler motives than usually impel the machinery of human ambition. The principles of action were embedded in the human soul and called forth by the power of God.—Christianity is the mighty and durable force, which is acting upon the world. It will not be disturbed in its onward progress by the clashing interests and opposing schemes of worldly policy.

It is the spirit of Christianity which originated the scheme of African Colonization, and has sustained it from the beginning. No vindictive and persecuting spirit has marked the annals of this institution. It declares no war upon society. It does not seek to imbrue its hands in blood. No incendiary spirit is cherished in its bosom. It has not obtruded itself into the halls of legislation, to fan the flame of civil discord, nor has it impiously dared to usurp the place of the Most High within the hallowed precincts of the church. It has proposed to itself the humble but Heaven directed mission of doing good.

This is a system of benevolence, which respects the rights of property as guaranteed by the constitution and the laws. It is based upon the inviolability of private rights. It stands opposed to the wild and fanatical spirit, which seeks to agitate and disturb the repose of society. It addresses itself to higher motives and follows in the path clearly marked out by the providence of God.

It is a remarkable fact, that whilst the Colonization-Society has carefully avoided all interference with the relations of master and slave, it has done more to promote emancipation than all the Abolition Societies in the country. The reason is an obvious one, and is founded in a just and enlightened view of the subject. The emancipation which it promotes and encourages, is real emancipation. It is justified by every consideration which can move the patriot and the Christian. Hence it is, that this principle has seized upon the public mind in the slave-holding States. It is the only plan ever devised which furnishes to them a reasonable hope of removing the evil of slavery.

Besides, there is an external force, operating upon the slave States in connection with this subject. I mean

the spirit of the age. The achievements of science and of art, the improvements in agriculture and the various and wonderful application of labor-saving machinery, with the overflowing and ever increasing tide of emigration to our shores from every country in Europe, are undermining the value of slave labor. The operation of these causes is sensibly felt. Every man of observation must have seen that slavery, for years past, has been sloughing off in the middle and western States. Some how or other, the idea has seized upon the public mind, that the intrinsic value of this species of property has depreciated. The tenure by which it is held has been weakened. The same causes will continue to operate with an increased force, whilst the power of resistance is daily and rapidly diminishing.

Let it be borne in mind that these causes are not local in their operation. They will find their way to the south and will there produce the same results. I speak not of probable results, but of the necessary and eternal relations of cause and effect. The unequal competition of slave with free labor, must be the same every where. The indomitable energy and superior skill and industry of the whites, with a dense and overflowing population, will ultimately deprive the slave of his employment, and render him valueless as property. The laws of population will remain the same in all time to come. We must remember that the past and the present are not the future. To-day is not *forever*. The value of slave property in the middle and western States, has been kept up by the demand in the south. That demand must have an end. The statesman can now define with perfect certainty, the boundaries of slave territory. The growth of population in the free States, and in the vast territory from

which free States are to be made, is so rapid as almost to defy the powers of calculation. The power of the government, the political strength of the nation, will be with those who will have but little sympathy with the institution of slavery.

In this view of the matter, how important does it become to provide an efficient remedy for the evil?—How forcible is the appeal to the patriot and the statesman? It is when we divest ourselves of prejudice and realize that this is a subject of deep and vital interest, that the scheme of colonization rises to its true dignity and importance. It is when we are most thoroughly persuaded of the nature and extent of the evil which afflicts us, that this benevolent design points us to the

way of deliverance. It assures us of the justice, mercy, and wisdom of God. Our trust is in him who delivered three millions of people from bondage, and led them through the wilderness for forty years, with a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night. The time will come when the proud vessel of our Republic, freighted with the last cargo of American slavery, shall spread her canvass for the shores of Liberia. The rejoicing lustre of millions of eyes will be turned upon it. The blessings of Heaven will be invoked by an incalculable host of uplifted hands, and all the jarring elements of party strife will be melted and mingled into one general prayer of joy, and thankfulness, and safety.

Twelfth Anniversary of the Indiana Colonization Society.

ACCORDING to previous notice, the Indiana Colonization Society met in Roberts Chapel, on Wednesday evening, January 6, 1847.

The Hon. ISAAC BLACKFORD, *President* of the Society, being present, took the chair at 7 o'clock, and at his request, the meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. B. T. KAVANAUGH.

The annual report of the Board of Managers was then read by the Agent of the Society, was accepted, and,

On motion, was referred to the Board of Managers, for publication. [See Report.]

The report of the Treasurer, Dr. ISAAC COE, covering the financial report of the Agent, was then read by the Secretary, which was accepted and approved, and was also,

On motion, referred to the Board of Managers for publication.

The Hon. GEO. H. DUNN was

then called upon by the President, to address the Society, who came forward and delivered a very chaste, eloquent and able address, to which the audience gave the deepest attention.

On motion of Mr. Kavanaugh, the thanks of the Society were tendered to Judge Dunn, for his very appropriate address, and he was requested to furnish a copy for publication.

On motion of the Rev. D. P. Gurley, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we have undiminished confidence in the *great principles* upon which the colonization enterprise is founded; and that in their purity and strength, we see satisfactory evidence of their permanent and ultimate triumph.

Resolved, That in the progressive movements of the citizens of Liberia in the attainment of their entire independence as a republican commonwealth, and the wise and discreet

manner in which they have managed their public affairs, we have the most satisfactory and cheering proofs that the colored man, under proper circumstances, is fully capable of self-government, and ought to be held and respected as such by all men.

Resolved, That we rejoice in the pleasing fact, now demonstrated by the experiment of the Liberia Colonies, that Africa affords to her scattered and oppressed children, a safe, happy, and peaceful retreat from bondage, from all lands, and we hope that its benefits may be seen and duly appreciated by the colored man and his friends, in all parts of the earth.

Resolved, That the history of Christian missions in Africa, proves most conclusively that the scheme of colonization, and the employment of colored ministers of the Gospel, in the order of Divine Providence, is the most successful method of carrying the Gospel to the perishing millions in that benighted land, and of subduing these "uttermost parts of the earth" to the rightful dominion of the Prince of peace.

Resolved, That the African slave trade, is more effectually suppressed and destroyed upon the western coast of Africa, by the colonies of Liberia, within their limits, than by all other means, and they ought to be supported from this consideration alone.

Resolved, That the attempt of the American Colonization Society, to found a Colony, and build up a *Republican State*, upon the western coast of Africa, of the free people of color of our country, with their own consent, contemplating the elevation and benefit of the African race throughout the globe, has been most triumphantly successful, and may be pointed to as the most noble achievement of private benevolence and voluntary effort ever accomplished by man.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting, it is the duty of the General Government to assist any State in which slavery exists, desirous of doing away with that institution, by the use of its public vessels and appropriations of money, in carrying on a general system of gradual emancipation and colonization, and that this subject be respectfully suggested to the public and our delegates in Congress.

On motion of Rev. S. L. Johnson, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That we regard the colonization scheme as the best, if not the only way by which slavery may be removed from the Southern States, and certainly the best plan by which the Northern States can assist the South, in the removal of that great evil.

Resolved, That this society highly approve of "THE COLONIZATIONIST," published by the Agent of this Society, as a faithful advocate of the objects of the Society, and recommend it to the patronage of the friends of the cause throughout the State.

On motion of James M. Ray, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be presented to the Rev. B. T. Kavanaugh, the Agent of this Society, for his eloquent advocacy of the objects of the American Colonization enterprise, and his untiring zeal in efforts for the promotion of the cause in this State, during the past year.

On motion of Mr. Kavanaugh, the following amendments were made to the Constitution of the Society:—

Article 4, amended so as to read as follows:

"Art. 4. The officers of this Society shall be a President, any number of Vice Presidents, a Secretary,

Treasurer, and a Board of Managers, composed of seven members of the Society to be elected annually by the Society, and a delegate from each of the auxiliary societies in connection with this Society. The President, Vice Presidents, Secretary, and Treasurer shall be, *ex officio*, members of the Board of Managers, any five of whom shall form a quorum to transact business."

To article 7, the following words were added: "annually in the month of December, notice of which shall be given at least twenty days previously, in a public newspaper."

In Art. 11, the word "*officers*" was struck out, in the 4th line, and the word "*delegate*" inserted.

On motion, B. T. Kavanaugh, James Blake, and James M. Ray, were appointed a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year.

The committee retired for a short time, and returned and reported the following persons, who were unanimously elected officers for the ensuing year, viz:

President—Hon. Isaac Blackford.

Vice Presidents—Hon. R. W. Thompson, of Terre Haute; Rev. M. Simpson, D. D. Prest. As. Un., Greencastle; Rev. C. White, D. D., Pr. Wab. Col., Crawfordsville; Hon. G. H. Dunn, Lawrenceburg; Allen Hamilton, Esq., Fort Wayne; Hon. Sam. Hall, Princeton; Rev. John Matthews, D. D., Pr. New Albany, Theological Seminary; Hon. Jer. Sullivan, Madison; Hon. S. C. Sample, South Bend; Jacob Early, Esq., La Porte; Rev. B. B. Killikelly, D. D., Delphi; Rev. James Havens, Rushville; Hon. W. W. Wiek, Indianapolis.

Secretary—James M. Ray, Esq.

Treasurer—Dr. Isaac Coe.

Managers—John Wilkins, James Blake, His Excellency James Whitcomb, Calvin Fletcher, Wm. Sheets, A. W. Morris, Daniel Yandes.

TWELFTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE INDIANA COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

All schemes of human economy which are not founded upon, or in accordance with, the wise and gracious designs of the Great Ruler of the universe, are destined to fail and perish in their own weakness.

An attempt to accomplish the great work had in view, in the scheme of African Colonization—the relief of ancient Africa, with her suffering millions, and the promotion of the highest interests of the people of the United States, by a transfer of such of the free people of color of this country, to the land of their fathers, as are willing to go, with a view to these great objects, without a direct reliance upon Divine aid, and with reference to God's glory, would be impious in the highest degree, and would stamp the enterprise, in the view of all wise and good men, with folly and defeat; and, in the end, bring confusion and disgrace upon those who would thus presume to dishonor the Divine government. For, "except the Lord build the house, the builders labor in vain, and except the Lord watch the city, the watchman waketh in vain."

While it affords us the highest degree of satisfaction and encouragement to know that the approbation and blessing of our Heavenly Father have rested upon our councils, and the labor of our hands, from the beginning of our enterprise up to the present time, and His gracious providence has gone before us in clearing our way—opening the hearts of the people to our favor, and removing many hinderances in the way of our success, both in this country and in Africa; we feel under unspeakable obligations gratefully to acknowledge these demonstrations of the Divine favor, and to renew our exertions in the prosecution of our labors, under the consoling assurance, that while God is with us, though our beginnings may be but small, and at present our instruments feeble; yet, we shall see our efforts crowned with success in the end, and a rich reward conferred upon those who have, through evil and good report, persevered in the achievement of our glorious objects.

The year past has been one of great prosperity to our cause, whether considered in reference to the operations of the Parent Society and its auxiliaries in this country, or the prosperity of Liberia and its interests in Africa.

The Wise Man has said, "Wisdom is justified of her children." In the early movements of the American Colonization Society, when the work of founding a colony upon the western coast of Africa was just begun, upon which the experi-

ment was to be made, as to whether the colored man, under the most favorable circumstances, is capable of governing himself, and whether Africa could be made to afford to her children a suitable and safe asylum from oppression, an infuriated storm of persecution arose, charging the founders of our institution with folly, madness, and the most wicked designs—carrying with it a large portion of the community, among whom were many who had been its warm friends and supporters—a storm which hung long upon the horizon, casting its dark shades upon our every prospect, and sending forth its mists and mildew over all our hopes; whose noisy muttering and angry floods threatened to demolish our projected Republic in its very birth, and with it, blast the future hopes of Africa, and her down-trodden children to the ends of the earth. While this storm continued long and loud to pour forth the full contents of its inexhaustible magazine, strange to tell, there were those who stood by our cause, firm and undismayed, until it had wasted its fury in the mighty void; when the sun-light of truth began to pour forth its bright and gentle beams, through the broken and retiring clouds, and our stately barque, though but a stranger upon the troubled waters, is seen in the distance, proudly mounting the rolling billows, proving herself worthy of her trust, and hails from Africa, with the cheering tidings that *Liberia lives!*—that to Africa it was proclaimed, from on high, “arise, shine, thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee.”

What, but that “*Wisdom which is from above, which is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy,*” could have inspired to such enduring patience, peace, and gentleness, as that exhibited in the conduct of the founders of our much admired institution, under circumstances so trying? It is doubtless with pleasure, that the sainted Finley, looks down from the abodes of bliss, and views the child of his many prayers, and his anxious solicitude, growing up to that maturity and strength, which promise to render the cause of God and humanity a service which shall be his crown of rejoicing, adorned with many stars.

And what, but the spirit which is *earthly and sensual*, could instigate the array of such angry words and tempers, as have been poured forth so vehemently against us, for our efforts to benefit the African race? As a refutation to all these charges of design to injure that oppressed people, we will appeal to the citizens of Liberia! Until they complain of injury and oppression, we will not hear the cavils of our

enemies here. On those in Liberia colonization has operated. Will our enemies allow their counsels and decisions to go to those they have left behind of their race, still in oppression here? It would seem sufficient for one who was honestly of opinion that our system is wrong, and yet possessed of a spirit of deference to Divine power, to say, “if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to naught, but if it be of God ye cannot overthrow it.” But the tempest is past—reason and truth have gained their rightful dominion over mind, and to our cause we are rallying a moral, a permanent and a powerful alliance, which will bear us on, under God’s blessing, “to finish the work so happily begun.”

But that God who “has his way in the whirlwind and in the storm, and the clouds are but the dust of his feet,” has so overruled the warring elements that have sought our ruin, as to make them promote our best interest! But for the temporary delay that has been occasioned in our movements by our persecutors, it is more than likely that great evil would have been occasioned to the settlements of Liberia.—At that time the nature and diseases of the country were not understood. The government of the colonies had not been settled into maturity for the safe management of public affairs. The masses of minds to be governed at first, needed a moral and intellectual training. For the character given to a new settlement by the fathers, will descend to generations following. It was still an *experiment* as to whether the colonists could govern themselves. That training and experiment could be accomplished with greater facility and perfection, upon a few thousand of selected emigrants, than upon more. Neither had the country been sufficiently opened and subdued to yield a subsistence for more than we had there.—But now all these things have been accomplished to a degree of perfection which has called forth the astonishment and admiration of both friends and foes, and we have the high satisfaction of announcing to the world results which could have been obtained in no other way; that the colored man is *capable of governing himself*, and that *Africa does afford to her scattered and peeled children a safe and happy asylum from oppression and bondage*; that the return of her sons from captivity, bringing with them the blessings of Christianity and all the arts of civilized life, will shed abroad into her dark and distracted bosom a solace, peace and power, which will enable her to develop her hidden treasures, clothe her naked children, feed her starving multitudes, and emancipate herself from a most degrading bondage to ignorance, vice,

and a plundering world. Who is so blind as not to see the hand of God in controlling these moving elements, in their forming state? If the children of Israel were *forty years* upon their journey from the land of bondage to that of freedom, undergoing a moral discipline and training to receive it, should it be thought unwise that we should spend *twenty years* for like objects?

Among the great cardinal doctrines of Colonizationists, it has ever been held, that the colored people of this country can never be elevated to the platform of liberty, in the full and proper sense, while mingled in a dispersed and dependent condition among white men—inferior in numbers, wealth, and intelligence; that the amalgamation of the two races, upon which perfect equality depends, is wholly impracticable, and that any system which stops short of a separation of the two races, will fail in giving the desired elevation to the oppressed colored man. It was, therefore, their first great care to provide such an asylum as would effect this object, and to render such assistance as would enable them to make their voluntary retreat from a state of degradation and oppression, to the full attainment of a high and honorable rank, as enlightened disenthralled freemen.

We have succeeded in this. We have selected the only land, within our reach, where they will be free from the overbearing oppression of the white man. We have procured, by *purchase*, a large, fertile, and healthy tract of country, extending for three hundred miles on the great Atlantic, and for near one hundred miles into the interior. A much larger scope of country than several of the States of this Union—a country abounding in a rich variety and abundance of all the comforts of life.

The next object was, to assist them in organizing for themselves a republican form of government, and to sustain them by our counsels and aid until they should feel safe in becoming an independent State, and take the whole management of their affairs into their own hands.

All this has been most successfully accomplished. For nearly twenty years the Society appointed and paid the Executive of the Liberia government; which office was filled, for that time, by white men.—But at the death of the late talented and lamented Buchanan, who fell a noble martyr to the cause of African liberty, on the 3d of September, 1841, Gen. Joseph J. Roberts, then Lieutenant Governor, who had gone to that country when a small boy, and had received his education there, assumed the duties of the Executive chair, and has discharged those duties ever since, greatly to his own honor and credit, and to the entire satisfaction of both the citizens of Li-

beria and the American Colonization Society. Since 1841, all the officers of that infant republic have been colored men.—The Legislative and Judicial departments of the government have always been filled with colored men.

We here omit some statements touching what has been done towards making *Liberia* independent, as our readers are familiar with the subject already.

This having been accomplished, should all the Colonization Societies now be dissolved? They have most signally triumphed in their glorious enterprise! We have founded a new and **INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC**, “of the free people of color, with their own consent,” on the continent of ancient Africa, the land of their fathers! And, such is the character of their laws and government, their officers, civil and military—such the character of their church, of the various denominations, both of ministers and membership—and such the high, moral, intellectual, and religious character of the citizenship of that Republic, prospering in their commercial, agricultural, and manufacturing interests—that, little as we have done in the estimation of our enemies, and those who are indifferent in regard to our movements, we are disposed, fearlessly to challenge the World to present us with an equal number of the sons of Ham, on the face of the Globe, equally free, happy, and prosperous.

Again: We challenge the World to produce a like State or Republic, founded by *private benevolence*, and the work of a *voluntary association*! !

But, it is asked, was it not the original design of the American Colonization Society to remove all the *free people of color from the United States*? with such as might be made free? We answer, it was not.

“The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is, to *promote and execute a PLAN* for colonizing, with their own consent, the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem expedient. And the Society shall act, to effect this object, in co-operation with the General Government, and such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject.”—This is the language of the Constitution of the Parent Society. Its proper, and we may say, “exclusive” work, is, to *promote and execute a PLAN*,” &c. The “*plan*” is so far perfected and “executed,” as to show its full and entire practicability.—Every experiment has been made, and every result obtained, which will enable the General Government, without the least risk, now to take the enterprise into its own

hands, and carry out the benevolent objects of the Society. Or, if either, or all the States, choose to "adopt regulations on the subject," the way is now safe and plain, to act alone, as Maryland is doing, or in co-operation with the Society.

But will the "General Government" or "the States adopt regulations on this subject," and carry out the designs of the Society? This is a question for the good people at large to decide. If *they* so direct, it will be done. If not, it will remain undone. We can only say, we have faithfully performed our part of the work, and we shall have the happiness to see thousands, and, we believe, millions, of the African race rejoicing in time, and, doubtless, in eternity, through what we have done and are still doing, both for those who emigrate from this land, and those who are born in Africa. It has been repeatedly remarked, by those in Liberia, that if nothing more is done, that Commonwealth is destined to revolutionize and redeem benighted Africa.

But has the General Government, or the States, *the means*, provided all the slaves were emancipated, to "execute the plan," with the consent of the colored people? Would it not "cost more money than is now in the United States?" We are aware that it has been repeatedly stated that it would. It has been published by the Abolitionists in this city, that each emigrant would cost, or had cost the Society, \$181 64, and that, to transport the whole, would cost the full sum of "\$544,920,000." But is this true? We shall see.

The whole amount of money that had been received and expended by the American Colonization Society, up to January 1, 1846, was \$641,862 87. Out of this sum, the coasts of Africa have been explored, the territory of Liberia purchased, a light-house or two erected, a Government house and several public buildings erected, the emigrants from this country transported and maintained six months in the country after their arrival, and furnished with medical attendance during that time; the salary of the Governor in Liberia and the whole current expenses of the Society and all its agencies in this country, for thirty years, paid. The colonies now own land enough to accommodate a population as large as that now in Ohio. If the statement in regard to the cost of emigrants was true, those who have been transported would have cost the Society the sum of

\$1,267,000;—a sum nearly double its whole revenue up to the beginning of last year; while the truth is, but a part of the sum received and disbursed has been appropriated to that object.

But to show that in the hands of the Government, the whole work could be accomplished in a short time, and at comparatively a very small expense, we will here submit one or two statements on the subject.

First, in regard to the cost.

There are, in the United States, we will say, 3,000 of colored people, bond and free.

To purchase 60 ships,* at \$10,000, each fitted for sea, would cost - - \$600,000

To furnish each family of five persons with provisions for their passage, would cost \$50.

For the whole number, at this rate, adding \$600,000 for increase while the work is going on, viz: on \$3,600,000, would be - - - - - 36,000,000

Add, for incidental expenses - 500,000

Total cost, - - - \$37,100,000

But, *secondly*, in regard to time.

The 60 ships will carry each 500 passengers a trip, and make three trips a year—making in the whole, 90,000 a year.

In 40 years,† at this rate, the number will amount to 3,600,000. The whole number!‡

Thus, in forty years, every man, woman and child, of the colored race in America, could be transported to Africa, at an expense of less than *one million of dollars* a year. But suppose we still add \$2,900,000, and make the sum *forty millions*, one million a year, what is that sum compared to the ability of the nation, and the value of the work to be accomplished? In forty years from this time our population will fall but little short of 70,000,000.

But this estimate is far above what is really necessary in the hands of the Government, if we employ the ships of war, which are kept, in time of peace, either doing nothing or in part employed cruising on the African coast. According to the terms of the Ashburton treaty of the United States with Great Britain, our Government is bound to keep up a squadron of eighty guns on the African coast, for the suppression of the slave trade.—This will cost the Government, accord-

* It is presumed, in this calculation, that the ships employed in this service, would do a sufficient carrying trade to pay the expenses of navigating them, and keep them in repair.

† It is not desirable to accomplish the work in so short a time as forty years, for 90,000 a year could not be well provided for in Liberia; but we intend to meet the objection and show what is *possible*. We would prefer eighty years.

‡ In the same period, about 10,000,000 foreigners will have emigrated to our country!

ing to the estimates of the Secretary of the Navy, \$241,182, annually—more than one-fourth of the sum required annually to carry on our scheme. Whereas, if our policy should prevail, the trade would be more effectually and forever banished, than by that system, with but a slight increase of present expenses.

But to place the subject in its worst possible light. Suppose the General Government and the several States should refuse, or neglect to "adopt any regulation on the subject;" what then is to become of our cherished scheme of African Colonization? In the first place, we remark, we should be in no worse condition than we have been, thus far. In the second place, that we shall have many advantages in our favor, which, until now, we have never had, viz: What was at first a *supposed* truth, in regard to the capacity of the colored race for self-government, is now a *demonstrated truth*. So in regard to Africa and its advantages to civilized man, and its suitability as an asylum from oppression to the colored race of this land.

Again: In this country we have many advantages over the past. "*Truth will out.*" The colored people have been fed up with the delusive idea, that somehow or other, all their shackles in this land would be removed, and they would be the equal of the white man. But a few years will prove to them, that their condition, bad as it is, will grow worse! At present we have land enough and to spare. They are not crowded by an overgrown population. The demand for labor here is now above the supply. But there are about 250,000 foreigners annually pouring into our country from abroad; these make their way for the free States. Most of them are laborers; these added to the same classes of our own country, will soon contend with the colored man strongly for every place of employment—land will become scarce and high, a crowded population will regularly curtail the privileges of the poor of the country, and they will be the more oppressed from these causes, with others not enumerated.

While this is in progress here, Liberia will have advanced also. Her ships will be found in our ports, laden with coffee and the rich spices of her sunny clime.—She will send us her palm-oil, dye-stuffs, lignumvitæ, mahogany, ebony, camwood, ivory, gold, and a thousand other valuable commodities. Information in regard to the prosperity and happiness of her citizens will be general, and the colored man here, as a natural result, will follow his interest—the love of "*Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,*" will warm his energies so far into life, as to over-leap the prejudice

of former days, and injurious counsels, and by thousands and tens of thousands, they will flock to Liberia, and rejoice that God, in his wise and gracious providence, had prepared for them a retreat so well suited to his interests. These will go at *their own charges*. Our system now possesses self-creating power, and although it may take time to develop it, yet it is bound to succeed. For, with these developments, a few years will bring thousands to our aid who have stood aloof.

In Indiana, as stated in our last report, we have never had the regular services of an Agent, to labor within our State, until the year just closed. During the past year, the Rev. B. T. Kavanaugh has been diligently employed in the work assigned him, as Agent of the Parent Society; and, considering the many difficulties to be overcome, the want of information upon the subject among the people, and the vast amount of prejudice which had been aroused against our cause by the many presses and lecturers employed in the State, adverse to our interests, we believe he has accomplished as much as could be reasonably expected, under the circumstances, within the short time he has been engaged in our cause.

In the prosecution of his labors, the Agent has found that such was the lack of correct information on the subject of colonization among the people, and such the number of Abolition presses and lecturers in the State, misrepresenting our cause and assailing him in the discharge of his duties, that it was impossible to achieve a conquest over these formidable difficulties, without the aid of the public press, and that so far under his control as to meet the peculiar demands and exigencies of his own field of labor. With a view to supply this indispensable aid, he has, under the advice and sanction of the Board of Directors, connected with his agency, the publication of a small monthly sheet, called "*THE COLONIZATIONIST*,"—offered to subscribers at an extremely low rate.—This paper has done, and is well calculated to do, an incalculable amount of good to our noble cause. We hope our auxiliary Societies and friends will give it an extensive circulation in all parts of our State.

There have been circulated within the State, monthly, during nine months of the past year, about 2,500 copies of "*The Colonizationist*," about 500 copies of the "*Liberia Advocate*," and about 100 copies of the "*African Repository*." These publications have produced a powerful and lasting impression upon the minds of the reading community in favor of our cause, and especially among the ministers of the

various religious denominations, to most of whom these publications have been furnished gratuitously. From the very favorable manner in which the Agent has been received in all parts of the State, and by that class of the community who, from their intelligence and high standing in society, are calculated to wield a favorable influence in our cause, we doubt not but that in a year or two, we shall see a great coming up to the support of colonization in Indiana, which shall result in much good to the cause of humanity, both in the relief of the oppressed here, and in a foreign land.

SPEECH OF HON. GEO. H. DUNN,

Delivered at the anniversary meeting of the Indiana Colonization Society.

The history of every man will show, that at some or at various periods of his life, peculiar opportunities of doing good to his fellow men, or other performance of duty, have been thrown in his way, and apparently forced upon his attention.

As with men, so, in his dealings with nations, God, in his providence, at his own time and in his own way, seems to call them to certain paths of duty, and to require specific and peculiar exertions at their hands.

Such, at this moment, is the great and glorious opportunity of spreading the blessings of civilization and religion over the vast and benighted regions of India, which her extensive conquests in that country now affords to Great Britain; and such I conceive to be the blessed privilege afforded, and the duty imposed upon this nation by the presence of so many of the sons of Africa in our land, to return, through them, the blessings of civil and religious liberty, the lights of science, of law, and salvation to that unhappy and distracted country.

The conquest of India, by a people so far distant from the scene of action, and so comparatively diminutive in numbers, is unexampled in history. Accompanied as it was by so much of cruelty, rapine, and blood, though we may account for its being permitted, as a just, perhaps inadequate, punishment upon the superstition, idolatry and wickedness which covered that land as a flood, yet it is far more agreeable to our views of Divine perfection, to view it as the chosen means, in mercy, to break down those barriers which had so long excluded the light of salvation from those shores.

And now, when we see the power of controlling the destiny of so many millions of human beings thus firmly placed in the hands of England; when we witness her advance in the knowledge of all that makes earth desirable and heaven attainable, and contrast it with the darkness and degrada-

tion that exists in those conquered provinces; how can we mistake the imperative duties that arise from this condition of things. And while it should rejoice the hearts and strengthen the hands of the great and the good of that land, that they are thus called upon and permitted the privilege to minister to the wants of others, and impart the blessings they enjoy, yet well may they be filled with fear and dismay at the awful retribution to follow should their nation be found halting in this her day of trial.

Generally, we have a much more keen perception of the duties of others than of those resting upon ourselves. But dull indeed should we be did we fail to perceive, in the history of slavery, as connected with this country, and in the remarkable preservation and existence of so great a body of the sons of Africa among us, a duty corresponding in magnitude, and productive of blessings equal in extent to the amount of human misery which the traffic in slaves has produced. If we consider this trade, from its small beginnings to its present activity and extent, continued in despite the exertions of the most powerful nations to suppress it; the pillage and murder it has occasioned; the conflagration of towns and villages; the devastation of extensive, fertile, and populous districts; the rending asunder of so many ties, binding husband and wife, parent and child, friend and neighbor; to say nothing of the injurious effects upon the morals of our own people, can we believe that so much of evil was permitted but with the design of bringing from it a far greater good. And what greater good can be produced from it than by the return of this people to cheer their native shores, bearing in their hands the blessings which our institutions and religion are calculated to bestow; to lift up that dark land and make it to shine as a bright star in the crown of the Redeemer. And while convinced that we are the people selected by Almighty God to work out his will and pleasure in this matter, Oh! how careful should we be lest we falter on the way or mistake the path designed for us to walk in.

There are few but admit the necessity and duty of ministering to the wants of heathen Africa. But it is too generally considered as a duty common to all Christian people, and that no peculiar obligation rests upon this nation to take the lead in this matter. This is an error most fatal to success, and in respect to which the public mind must be corrected before it will act efficiently. Without at all detracting from, or desiring to lessen the weight of the obligation resting upon the Christian world, to lend its influence and assistance to such a work, we must impress upon our own

people that they are more particularly required to act, and for the reason that to them has been committed the only means by which this great and benevolent design can be accomplished, and because, while thus extending blessings, temporal and spiritual, to a far distant continent, they are removing a stain that attaches to our institutions, and a canker that may otherwise destroy them.

Had this great truth been kept in mind by the American people, the agitation on subjects connected with African slavery, so extensive of late years, would not have proved so barren of all useful results, and so fruitful of bitter controversies and sectional prejudices, as it has done. It may not do to say no good will grow out of this agitation, for at least public attention has been called to these subjects, and is now more alive to them than it otherwise would have been; and if now it can be concentrated and directed in the proper channel, some return may be had for the time and expense that has been bestowed on the effort. Still, errors, important ones, have sprung up from this hot-bed of contention, such as will require years to eradicate, and which must be removed before the entire energies of the nation can be applied to the desired work.

And, now, what are the reasons that lead us to believe that we are the people destined more particularly than any other to advance the regeneration of Africa; and that this is to be brought about by the removal of the colored people of this country?

In the first place, let us look around and see who can and who will help in this undertaking. What other nation possesses the light and knowledge requisite for this work? Would the systems of laws and government of any other nation be as beneficial for the people of Africa as our own?—And if they would, have those nations the means of sending and teaching them there? We cannot want a more favorable example than England; next to our own, the most enlightened nation on earth. And are her institutions the best adapted for the improvement of Africa? We would all answer nay, even if experience had not fully proved and settled the proposition. Look at her efforts at Sierra Leone. Her Colony there was established long before that of Liberia; more than sixty millions of dollars have been expended on it, while less than \$600,000 have been bestowed on the other. It has been protected and fostered by the whole power of the British Government, and made the emporium of her commerce on the coast of Africa. Yet, what comparison can it bear with our colonies in all the essential elements of stability, and in its effects, in developing and advancing the African character, either among its own

subjects or the tribes around it? So far from there being a body of free and intelligent citizens, accustomed to enact and administer their own laws, as in Liberia, whose institutions are appreciated, and whose friendship and protection is courted by surrounding nations, there is a total want of every thing of the kind. Should the British Government now withdraw its control, the whole colony would fall to pieces, and the inhabitants return to barbarism. Colored men, capable of understanding and administering the government, could not be found, nor a population capable of understanding or exercising any of the rights of freemen.

We can perceive that the great mistake of England, and the cause of her failure, was in keeping the government of her colony in the hands of white men. She did not, as in Liberia, make the colored man the main instrument in elevating himself and his brethren. She permitted the blighting presence of the white man and his power to be continued there, to blast all the fruit which humanity hoped to derive from the effort; and had her principles of government and policy been different, when had she within her dominions a people of the colored race capable of ministering in this matter? We all are aware how different was the system and effect of slavery in her colonies to what it was and is here. That with her no light had penetrated the dark masses, bringing into notice even one individual, let alone any body of men, able to appreciate their own wants, and feeling the spirit strong within them, to devote themselves for the advancement of their race. Who can doubt that such was and is the condition of the masses in the British colonies, when now, after twelve or fifteen years of comparative freedom, we find none peering above their fellows and showing capacities fitted to control their own, or the destiny of others.

And if Great Britain, with so much power and with so much of apparent good will for the good of Africa, has come so far short of her hopes and desires, may we not fairly conclude that the work has not been allotted to her; and, as was remarked before, do we not perceive another path opened up for her, leading to results scarcely less important for her own glory and the good of mankind?

The Government of France, we know, is sufficiently occupied in watching the elements of discord with which that kingdom is rife, and keeping them in due restraint. Nor, was it otherwise, is her moral and religious condition such as to justify a hope that her attention would soon be directed to this subject, or that any effort on her part would be availing.

Still more hopeless is the condition of Spain, the only other important nation in Europe on whom rests this stain of slavery. Not only is she powerless in herself, but so far is she behind the spirit of the age that she still countenances the slave trade, and cannot, therefore, be expected to aid in the work most effectually to destroy it.

But should all the nations of the earth combine, what could they do more than has been done? Should they send whole armies of missionaries and philanthropists, if, of the white race, how long would they last in that destructive climate and in the midst of those fierce barbarians? Has not experience sufficiently shown that no white constitution can withstand the enervating effects of the one, and nothing but the presence of well-ordered and strongly armed settlements can command the respect and control the lawlessness of the other.

How many efforts have been made since Christianity became predominant in Europe, prompted by commercial enterprise or Christian zeal, to people those shores with colonies, or to impart some light to those who sit in darkness, and how signally have they all failed of their object until the enterprise of our society. And how idle is it still to look for better results from any undertaking by the same parties and conducted upon the same principles.

May we not, then, consider it as settled, that if ever the coast of Africa is to be peopled by a civilized race, that they must be colored men? If ever the Cross is to be planted there, it must be by men selected from their own race. And where are they to be found? In what country except our own is there the least approach, with any body of this people, to such a state of improvement as would justify our selection of them for such a work? And if they at present exist nowhere, where would you begin the work of improvement to fit them for this undertaking? Surely, all must answer, that if the requisite qualifications for this work are to be found at all, it must be with the colored people of this land, and if that intelligence is yet to be imparted, that it can best and most speedily be done here.

In the consideration of all these subjects, the operations of the Colonization Society have shed abundance of light. No one can longer doubt the fitness of the colored man, under proper encouragement, to manage his own affairs and to exercise and enjoy all the rights of a freeman. None can doubt that a large number of these people, sufficient for all present purposes, are here, ready and prepared for the work intended; and that others can be prepared and fitted for it faster than means can at present be found to transport them, or the ability of the colonies will support.

In view of all that has been said, how can we fail to wonder that the public has so long hesitated to come to and act upon the conclusions which we set out to prove, that the continent of Africa is to be colonized by means of our black population, and that we, as a nation, are specially designed and called upon to sustain and forward the work. Alone can it be accounted for, by the fact, that in the storm of contention which has existed, the public mind has failed to keep in view the most important point of duty, and has permitted itself to mistake for it others which are mere incidents to the movement. Such I conceive to be the error to be found in the prevailing opinion that the immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery is the first and most important thing required at our hands. That this is an end to be arrived at, indeed never lost sight of, I, for one, entirely believe. But that it is all, or the greatest good to result from the presence of this people among us, I, by no means, can admit. What, pray, is the freedom of two or three millions of this people here, condemned still to live and linger under the malignant influence of the white man's presence, compared with the consequences to flow from their removal to Africa, and the disfranchisement of the hundreds of millions there groaning under the bondage of sin and the most oppressive civil power. Magnified as it may be, the civil and moral condition of the slave in this country, can no more be compared to the degradation and misery of the entire people of Africa, than the numbers of the one can be compared with the other. And can it then be conceived that the evil of slavery has thus been permitted to continue and accumulate for this hundred years past, with all its horrors and misery, merely that the descendants of those thus torn from their homes, might here enjoy the blessings of liberty and religion? Alas! how diminutive becomes the object of our efforts thus circumscribed, when contrasted with the grand design which makes this but one step in the movement intended to disenthral, enlighten, and Christianize an entire continent.

I would not question that many of those who have too strenuously maintained the opinion here deprecated, may also hope to see accomplished the great object that we desire. But their mistake has been in making that the first matter of consideration which should be but secondary; and in devoting their time in vain efforts for the establishment of a proposition which would have followed as a matter of course upon the settlement of the other. By narrowing down this agitation to the mere matter of emancipation, they have aroused all the prejudice and opposition which the whole sub-

jeet, and all its incidents and consequences, were capable of exciting, while they have driven from them the support which a more enlarged view would have called forth.— And thus we find, that within the past years of controversy, while so little has been done for colonization, still less has advanced the cause of emancipation; and, indeed, that almost all that has been effected for the latter, has been through the agency and influence of colonization. Thus we find from the report just read, that of 627 persons sent to Liberia within three years past, 602 of them were slaves previously liberated for the purpose of being sent there. Surely, it will not be thought invidious if we contrast the consequences which have and are to flow from these opposing measures somewhat further. May we not inquire what has the opposition to colonization effected for the cause of humanity, either here or in Africa? Years have passed since the clamor against it and in favor of immediate emancipation began. Money has been lavishly spent in the cause, and yet none pretend that Africa has been advanced one jot or tittle, while here it is a question, not how much the slave has been benefited, but how much closer his chains may have been riveted by the effort.

And if, instead of being colonized, the 602 slaves liberated within the last three years, or the three or four thousand previously liberated and colonized, had remained in this country to swell the number of those nominally free, who so generally are off-casts from the communities in which they exist, how could they have benefited their brethren remaining in bondage here, or ministered in the least degree to the advantage of those in Africa? On the other hand, by their location in Liberia, under the colonization scheme, their moral and political freedom has been fully established. It has brought out the energies of their character, and shown to the world that they are capable of self-government, and of that improvement which will make them a light in that dark land to which all the nations will come. Already have they brought into connection with their government, and within reach of the influence of law and religion, more than 30,000 of the natives.— And what may not be expected from the glorious future, when those shores shall be dotted, not with one, or two, or three, but with hundreds of towns and communities filled with millions of the civilized and intelligent Africans.

And how has the cause of emancipation been injured by this result? Do we find the slave less anxious for freedom because this prospect of usefulness to his race is opened to him? Is the master less willing to unloose his hold? On the contrary, we

find that every ship load that departs, leaves a thousand ties behind which are to draw others in. Each colonist forms a new line of communication through which such information of that country is to pass, as shall increase the anxiety of their brethren to enjoy its blessings; and hundreds now offer themselves, or are offered by their masters, for removal, far beyond the ability of the society to accept.

The cause of emancipation, then, has evidently been advanced by colonization, and they never can be disconnected without injury to both. And need we look farther for a reason than that it is contrary to the designs of an All-wise Providence?— Men may complain as they please of the absurdity and injustice of the prejudices that prevent the colored man from enjoying the same privileges and countenance here as other free men. God has permitted those prejudices to exist, to show that this is not to be the abiding home of this people. If these prejudices were removed, and if the races could here exist together in harmony and mutual advantage, do we not perceive how, at once, all the hopes for the advancement and regeneration of Africa are lost entirely? And aside from the consideration above mentioned, why should we complain of these prejudices? What would their removal do for the black man's benefit? Is it essential to his good that he shall remain in this country? All our experience says otherwise. Witness the condition of Hayti, which has long been free and under their own management; witness Jamaica, where comparative freedom has existed for twelve or fifteen years past. None will dare to compare the condition of those countries with Liberia. And what influence have these efforts for emancipation had upon the great work in Africa?

Let it not be understood that I entertain the idea that a removal of the people of Hayti or Jamaica would be to their own or to the benefit of Africa. The very reasons which go to show the contrary, are those most forcible for the removal of our black population. In those Islands they are now the predominant race, and the other could not, if they would, remove them. They are yet so ignorant and degraded as to be unable to take care of themselves, let alone teach others the arts of civilized life and self-government. How very different have affairs been ordered with us. Take our free colored population, and a large number of our slaves, and relieve them from the pressure which now bears down and deadens all their faculties, and how much of our arts and knowledge would they be found to possess? How much more than the blacks of the Islands named, or of those of Cuba and Brazil? And if now taken in hand, with

how much more facility can we furnish the means of increasing and extending this knowledge, and sooner prepare them for usefulness for themselves and others, than can be done in any other country.

And why, but for this purpose, have we been compelled to nurture this people in our bosom, until they have acquired their present state of improvement, so superior to their race elsewhere, and their present strength, just sufficient to answer the purposes of Providence, and not beyond our ability to remove? Who put it into the hearts of our statesmen at so early a period of our history, to put a stop to the introduction of slaves into this country? The flood was stayed at the proper moment, while we have seen it continued elsewhere, until the black has driven out the other race, and the finest portions of territory assigned as their permanent residence. And why is this hateful traffic yet allowed to Cuba and Brazil? but that they are given over to their delusions, and are permitted to heap up wrath against the day of wrath, and to add fuel to the fire which is to consume them.

Punishment has followed almost every land from whence the blood of this people calls for vengeance. And why have we been so mercifully preserved, and advanced in all that can contribute to the happiness and greatness of a nation, but to fit and prepare us for this work? And why is the way in which it can be most effectually, indeed, alone, carried on and perfected, just now so clearly pointed out by the operations of the colonization scheme?—Now, just at the moment when the public mind is most sensitive and alive to the dangers which beset the country, and the disgrace which attaches to our institutions in consequence of the presence of this people among us? Why, but to show us that now is the time for action, and that, as much has been given us, much will be required at our hands.

And while we thus trace the workings and designs of that Providence which has brought all these things to pass in this country, tending to this one great end, let us not fail to perceive how the same hand has smoothed and prepared the way in Africa for the return of her long lost sons. Although, generally, the hills and plains teem with a large and increasing population, yet it is not so where most accessible to our enterprise. The desolating and savage wars occasioned by the demand for slaves, have driven back the population for a great distance along the coast, leaving open for settlement the most fertile and valuable portions of the country, and which the scanty tribes scattered over it are most ready to part with, and to accept the protection afforded by our colonial government and laws.

It may be objected that what has been here said, too much is taken for granted, and the operations of the Colonization Society are too much magnified. So much of misrepresentation has taken place on this subject, by those opposed to the scheme, that many no doubt have honestly entertained scruples as to the existence, on the coast of Africa, of the colonies which have been named, or that they are of the extent or influence as claimed. It has been doubted whether the several intelligent colored men who have returned from the colonies to give information respecting them, were not emissaries hired to deceive and delude our colored people. But the constant intercourse of the last year or two, between the colonies and this country, kept up not only by the commercial but the national marine, and the frequent notice and approval which they have received in the letters and publications of distinguished officers, most effectually disperse those doubts from the minds of all intelligent persons. With some of those who have visited the colonies, it has been my privilege to converse. One, an officer in our navy, informed me that he found at Monrovia, a well regulated, intelligent, and religious population; such as would not disgrace his own native village in New England. He visited their churches, their court house, their houses. He found none but colored men in their pulpits, their courts, and their counting rooms, in all which departments their business was conducted with decorum and propriety.—The last year, also, has brought this people into contact with the Government of Great Britain, and is to lead, as we hope and believe, to the recognition of them by that power, as an independent people.—And thus it is that light has been afforded the public, dispelling doubts, and exposing the slanders of enemies, until none can longer hesitate to admit that the society has effectually succeeded in planting upon the shores of Africa, several free and independent colonies, of intelligent colored persons from this country, who have, for years, governed themselves, enacted and executed their own laws, who carry on an active and profitable commerce both with the interior and with foreign nations, and who can now, with safety, be turned off from all guardianship of the parent society to act for themselves in all respects whatever.

When we consider the nature and objects of the Colonization Society, how much of immediate and unmixed good there is in every step of its operations, it is incredible to believe that so extensive and virulent an opposition to it could have been excited, as late years have witnessed. In most other schemes of benevolence,

something has to be taken on trust, and time is required to develop its results.— Thus, when we contribute to a missionary enterprise to any distant and heathen land, we expect not to see fruit from the expenditure for long years to come. We expect the missionary to endure privation, sickness, perhaps death, and consider ourselves and him well repaid, if even one of the seed scattered by his hand, shall find a genial soil. But not so with colonization. Each one who contributes to free a black man from a state of dependence and bondage here, and send him to Africa, has the immediate satisfaction of knowing that he contributes to that man's highest good.— He has at least made one man free in truth and in fact; a consummation worth all its cost, and bringing full and immediate compensation; while all in prospect, the rich harvest to be reaped in the conversion of Africa, is principal and interest repaid over and over again in richest profusion. And with how much more harshness has this cause been treated than that of missions in general. Consider how the mission to China has been fostered for so many years past, with scarcely the slightest encouragement. How many valuable lives have been sacrificed, and how much money spent in the cause by its uncomplaining and persevering friends! How dark the prospect by which their faith was tried! The barriers which superstition and barbarian policy had erected against them seemed impenetrable. But they did all that could be done. They mastered the language, translated the Bible, and just at the moment when these necessary and preparatory steps were taken and they prepared to operate successfully, by a most surprising Providence, are all the barriers removed, and they permitted, nay, invited, to pour out their rich treasure upon the thirsty land. Oh! how must the friends of this great enterprise now rejoice that their hearts failed not at the prospect of such discouragements! And did the public complain during those long years of suspense? Did it arise and demand the effect? and appeal to its delay and want of fruit as reasons for its abandonment, as was the case with colonization? Nay, far different was its treatment.

Fierce indeed has been the struggle through which our cause has passed. For a while all seemed to be lost. Just at the moment when a heavy debt was pressing upon the Society, and it most needed friends and help, the storm came, cutting off new supplies, and not only alienating old friends but turning them into bitter assailants. But the sky is once more clear, and now that we can look around and have a more distinct vision of the past,

the present, and the prospective future, we can plainly see that the hand of God was there; and how far exceeding in knowledge and wisdom are his counsels than our own!

When we look back, well may we tremble at the probable fate of our infant colonies, had the nation risen in its might and at any time heretofore have thrown back upon them the thousandth part of the population it might have done. Had the intemperate zeal manifested in opposition, been excited in favor of colonization, and the time, talent and money exhausted in this controversy, been lavished in removing persons to Liberia, who can question the disastrous result, or doubt that the colony must have been overwhelmed with those who, unaccustomed to self control, would have cut loose from all restraint. Even now, a too rapid movement, such as the more sanguine might desire, may have the effect to overthrow the established authorities, and thus extinguish the light just glimmering on those dark shores, the hope of despairing millions.

We have heard much of the great expense of colonization, and the impossibility of our ever being able to remove the whole slave population to Liberia. But have those who make those objections ever considered the expense and difficulty attending any other plan devised for the benefit of this people? Have they ever attempted to look beyond the mere point of emancipation, and determine what shall become of them after they are free? Whether they are to swarm over the whole country, seeking employment; whether they are to be removed to some distant point on this continent, or have assigned to them, for exclusive occupation, some part of the territory which they now mostly inhabit. If turned adrift upon the country, can we not foresee the increased deterioration of character of the free blacks which such a number crowded upon their employments must produce? And may we not anticipate such an increase and continuance of expense upon our alms houses and prisons as would soon surpass the sum required for their removal from the country? Let alone the expense, the benevolence that would thus turn them out in this country, without property or means of support, to be still hewers of wood and drawers of water for white people, can scarcely be compared with that which proposes to remove and settle them upon land of their own, with competent provision, until it can be brought into cultivation.

But if land is to be furnished here, that item is to be taken into the consideration of the expense. If it shall be a part of the "sunny South," their present home,

its value would be ten fold more than all the expenses of land, removal, and settlement in Liberia. And if the place selected for them is to be so far distant as materially to decrease the value of land, then the expense of removal alone, by any means of conveyance we can conceive of, judging from what it cost us to remove the Indians, will far exceed a like removal and settlement in Liberia.

Few persons are aware of the great facility and cheapness with which these people can be located in Africa. The difference of climate alone takes off one-half the labor requisite here to live comfortably. Two crops a year are regularly produced with very little labor. Indeed, the settler, with a brush fence around his four or five acres, a few trees girdled, a thatched hut, and only a hoe in his hand, is far more independent and sure of a good living there, than he could be here with ten times the quantity of ground and all its necessary buildings and improvements.

But colonizationists are far from believing that emancipation can be effected, if at all, as cheaply as when connected with colonization. We have seen how well they have heretofore worked together, and we know that hundreds of slaves, now free men in Liberia, who have been liberated and the expense of their removal and settlement paid by their masters, would still have been in bondage if they must have remained here; and hundreds are now pressed upon the society for removal, on the same terms, whose masters, from a sense of duty to their slaves, will never suffer them to be set at liberty in this country. On this subject, people will be guided by experience rather than theory and declamation. The condition and future prospects of the free blacks in this country are well known, and his condition and prospects in Africa are becoming too well known to allow of mystification or doubt any longer, as to what is best for him. And, therefore, the hope of bringing the united energies of the wise and the good of the land to bear upon any other effort than colonization, must become every day more hopeless. And if individuals cannot be otherwise moved, how is it to be expected that the States, as such, will ever take the matter in hand on any other principle. How much easier will it be to obtain laws in the free States for the removal of this people out of them than to obtain laws to encourage their emigration to them; and especially when the public is satisfied that their new home is better than their old one. Still more evident, that upon the principle of colonization alone, can the slave state be brought to act efficiently in this matter.

Many, who believe in the benefits to be derived from colonization, both to our own land and to Africa, are yet hopeless and backward in the cause, from the belief that it is too slow a process, and can never entirely rid us of the evil complained of. But the calculations contained in the report just read, cannot be disputed, and must satisfy every one who examines them, that the work, far from being impossible, is easy of accomplishment. Indeed, what is it that is right and proper that the nation cannot accomplish, when all her energies are applied to it? We believe that, in time, the whole people and government, state and national, will make this work the great absorbing matter of interest. Until then, private benevolence must carry it on; new colonies must be planted, and sustained until they acquire some maturity and strength. A better knowledge of the country, and the advantages it holds out to the settler, must be brought home to our colored people. And all this is now a matter of easy accomplishment. The independence of Liberia will soon be acknowledged. Her flag will float in our ports; her vessels, commanded and manned with her citizens, will be known to our coasts, and their crews will communicate to their kindred here information in such a way as cannot be disputed; and thus will thousands be induced to go there of their own accord and at their own expense. We behold near 250,000 foreigners now annually seeking our shores. How limited was the number a few years ago, and how plain are the causes of its increase. The communication of his content and happiness by one friend has drawn another. The coming of a son, a father, a brother, has encouraged the residue of his kindred to make the venture. And thus will it be with the blacks; for how much stronger are the motives urging them, than exist in the other case. These foreigners seek a home in a country with whose language and customs most of them are unacquainted, and they come not from chains and bondage, or degradation of caste and color, and yet we find them coming in numbers fourfold the annual increase of our black population. The only thing necessary, then, is to convince the black man that his *interest* lies in Africa; that there he can rise to the dignity of a freeman, and at once motives are given him, and hopes are excited, which not only fills him with energy, but fits him for usefulness in his future home.

It is becoming every day more evident that colonization is the only effectual means for the suppression of the slave trade. Not only does it operate directly by the destruction of the slave factories upon the coast of Africa, and by affording facilities

for a more legitimate commerce to its inhabitants, but indirectly, by building up a competition in those productions by the cultivation of which slave labor can only be made profitable. Of what value, for instance, would slaves be in Brazil, if Liberia could undersell her in the article of coffee? and the demand in Brazil is now the chief support of the slave trade. That such competition is possible cannot be doubted, when the greater facilities for the protection of this article is considered. Attention has already been given to the subject. Three plantations, I perceive, number 2,000 trees each, and many smaller ones are in progress. We must remember, too, that rice, cotton, and the sugar cane, are the spontaneous growth of that country, and without a monopoly of these, how can slavery be sustained, either here or elsewhere.

In conclusion, let me congratulate the friends of colonization on the progress their cause has made in this State within the last year; and the report made by your society is but an echo of what we hear from

every other when like pains were taken. The \$500 contributed in this State, though small compared with some things, is full of promise for the future, when we consider that it almost equals the amount ever here collected for the same cause since that cause had an existence. If so much can be done by one agent, with such limited means of approach to the people, having so much of prejudice to encounter, and want of information on the subject to overcome, what may not be expected when full knowledge of the plans, the operations, and the prospects of colonization for the honor and welfare of America, and the happiness and glory of Africa, shall have been spread abroad and are duly appreciated. When our people come fully to understand the grandeur of the enterprise, so full of glory to God and good will to man, and that we, and we alone, are called upon to do this work. Then will the colonization effort assume its true position as the great work of this day and this people, and an advocate be found in every man who calls himself a patriot and a Christian.

[From the "National Intelligencer."]

Intelligence from Liberia.

COLONIZATION ROOMS,

Washington, March 24th, 1847.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—I have just received some information relative to affairs in Liberia, which will interest many of your readers. It is contained in a letter from an officer in the United States navy, now on board the frigate *United States*, who is the author of the "*Journal of an African Cruiser*." The letter is dated at Monrovia, December 12th, 1846, and came by the way of England. It is much later intelligence than we have before received. I hand you the following extracts: "This colony seems to be in as good a condition as usual. We have a rumor that England and France have agreed to withdraw most of their cruisers, and adopt a system of general colonization of the coast. An English sloop of war, the *Favourite*, Captain Murray, is now here. Captain M. has called upon Governor Roberts, to know the present relations of the colony to America, and to the Parent Society; also, to know if the colony will make a commer-

cial treaty with England in case of its declaring its independence; and, finally, to ask an exact description of the territory now owned or claimed by the colony on this coast. You will perceive that these are important inquiries. Gov. R. will not do any thing rashly, and Com. Read will do whatever is required for the interests of American commerce on this coast.

"If the goods for the purchase of territory are not now on their way hither, they should be hastened as much as possible. If England or France obtain any territory between this place and Cape Palmas, the continuity of territory will be destroyed, and these Powers will not give up an inch without such commercial advantages as the colony will not like to grant.

"Probably one of our vessels of war will remain here as long as it can be of any service."

I may here remark that we sent, in the early part of last December, a large and well selected supply of goods for the purchase of territory. It is therefore proba-

ble that before this time the colony has secured all the points along the coast which can at present be obtained.

It will be seen that England is awake to

the advantages of the commerce of Liberia. Would that we could say as much of our own country! Yours, very truly,

W. McLAIN.

Liberia and the British Government.

It is earnestly to be hoped that the time will soon come, when the position and character of Liberia shall be so well established and manifest that every body can know and understand it perfectly. It will be seen from a paragraph in another column that the British Government have again made enquiries on this subject, and that some farther arrangements are contemplated should Liberia become an independent Government. We are not at all surprised at this. Liberia is yet destined to be a very important place. Its com-

merce will be extensive and profitable.—It is not strange therefore that England should desire to form a commercial treaty with the Commonwealth.

We are persuaded that the authorities of Liberia will not do any thing rashly, but we presume that they will see reasons for entering into a commercial treaty with England, and with any other country that may desire it.

Is it not a pity that the United States should be so backward in discovering her true interests on this subject?

Liberia Packet.

WE are daily expecting the arrival of the Liberia Packet, with much later intelligence than we have from Liberia.

The prospect for emigrants this spring is at present very small. We have not

yet received information of any who will certainly be ready. And as it is only one month till we contemplated sending the expedition, no time ought to be lost by any who intend to go.

Receipts of the American Colonization Society,

From the 20th January, to the 25th March, 1847.

MAINE.			
By Dea. Samuel Tracy:—			
<i>Fryeburgh</i> —Mrs. Chase, \$1, Samuel C. Holden, 15 cents.	1 15	D. D., \$1, John Dorr, Esq., \$5, Gen'l Redington, E. A. Nason, each \$1, J. G. Holcomb, 50 cts., cash, \$3.	11 50
<i>North Bridgeton</i> —Dr. M. Gould, 5 00		<i>Brunswick</i> —Professor Upham, \$2, cash, \$5.	7 00
<i>Hallowell</i> —S. C. Grant, \$5, Dea. H. Tupper, toward life-membership, \$20.	25 00	<i>New Gloucester</i> —Rev. S. H. Shepley.	1 00
<i>Gardiner</i> —Major Swan, \$1, Rev. W. R. Babcock, R. M. Gardiner, Esq., each \$3.	7 00	<i>Freeport</i> —Dr. J. A. Hyde, \$2, Mrs. E. F. Harrington, N. Nye, each \$5, Rev. E. G. Parsons, \$1.	13 00
<i>North Yarmouth</i> —Rev. D. Shepley, \$1, Samuel Sweetser, \$2, Capt. Chase, D. Frickey, each 50 cents.	4 00	<i>New Castle</i> —Helen E. Seabury, 13 cts., Capt. S. Handley, \$2, E. W. Farley, \$1.	3 13
<i>North Yarmouth Centre</i> —Rev. Caleb Hobart, on account of life membership, by Captain Geo. Barker.	5 00		82 78
<i>Augusta</i> —Rev. Benjamin Tappan,			

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

By Dea. Samuel Tracy:—
Gilmanton—Contribution in Rev.

D. Lancaster's church.....	8 03
<i>Meredith Bridge</i> —J. T. Coffin, Charles Lane, Esq., each, \$1.	2 00
<i>East Boscawen</i> —Jacob Trussell..	3 50
<i>West Concord</i> —Rev. A. P. Tenney	1 00
<i>Concord</i> —Mrs. Stickney.....	1 00
<i>Londonderry</i> —Charles Hurd.....	3 50
<i>Litchfield</i> —Rev. Wm. H. Porter,	1 00
<i>Amherst</i> —B. B. David.....	3 50
<i>Goffstown</i> —Rev. Isaac Willey, \$1 50, D. Steel, \$1.....	2 50
<i>Plymouth</i> —L. J. Webster, Gen. M. Cook, each \$1.....	2 00

28 03

MASSACHUSETTS.

<i>Concord</i> —An. donation from Hon. Samuel Hoar.....	100 00
<i>South Deerfield</i> —From William Riddell, to constitute himself a life member of the American Colonization Society.....	30 00
<i>Milton</i> —Joseph Rowe, Esq., on account of life membership of the American Colonization So- ciety, per Rev. Joseph Tracy..	20 00

150 00

CONNECTICUT.

By Rev. Samuel Cornelius:—

Hartford—Thomas S. Williams,
\$25, James B. Hosmer, Alfred
Smith, each \$20, C. C. Lyman,
Austin Dunham, Francis Par-
sons, Charles Seymour, Stephen
Spencer, Bishop T. C. Brown-
nell, Joseph Trumbull, H. Allen
Grant, David Watkinson, each
\$10, E. N. Hellogg, D. P. Cros-
by, John S. Boswell, cash, J.
Toucey, J. W. Bull, Elisha Colt,
Ebenr. Flower, T. C. Ives, C.
H. Northam, cash, Howe, Ma-
ther & Co., Daniel Wadsworth,
W. W. Turner, Wm. T. Lee,
Charles Nichols, each \$5, Hetty
B. Hart, J. D. Gilbert, D. T.
Robinson, Wm. T. Hooker,
John Olmsted, Charles Hosmer,
Albert Day, T. A. Allen, S. L.
Loomis, A. Friend, each \$3,
A. W. Butler, C. Weeks, Geo.
Burnham, D. L. Stewart, N.
Hollister, C. C. Moore, Jr.,
Edw. Goodwin, E. Fessenden,
Ezra Clark, Jr., R. Terry, cash,
Mr. Hungerford, Virgil Cornish,
I. F. Judd, Isaac D. Bull, Cal-
vin Day, each \$2, cash, S.
Boardman, E. Terry, Tim. Wil-
liams, E. Merritt, H. R. Coit,
Allen S. Stillman, R. G. Drake,
James Pitkin, C. G. Smith, S.

P. Kendall, Mr. Willard, James L. Howard, Wm. B. Ely, H. L. Porter, Henry Benton, L. C. Burnham, Wm. Savage, Francis Fellowes, C. B. Hull, J. A. Ayres, L. C. Woodruff, H. Fitch, A. Saunders, Geo. S. Lincoln, J. P. Foster, Samuel G. Savage, Thomas Steel, Elisha Geer, A. Farwell, Saml. Woodruff, Dan- iel Buck, Jr., Dr. John Butler, each \$1, Mr. Bartlett, Peter D. Stillman, each 50 cts.....	332 00
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<i>Norwich</i> —A. H. Hubbard, \$25, Mrs. Huntington, \$4, J. Hunt- ington, Joseph Otis, K. Hub- bard, each \$10, M. Slater, H. Strong, William Williams, each \$5, Mrs. Lee, \$3, Miss Benja- min, 50 cts., Edward Whiting, cash, D. L. Trumbull, George Perkins, Jed. Huntingdon, Mrs. N. C. Reynolds, Mrs. W. Hun- tingdon, each \$2, L. F. S. Fos- ter, G. Chapin, E. A. Bill, W. Hooker, D. M. Prentiss, H. B. Buckingham, Mr. Kinne, Wm. F. Clark, each \$1.....	99 50
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<i>Thompson</i> —W. H. Mason, \$6, S. Davis, J. B. Gay, each \$2.....	10 00
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<i>Pomfret</i> —Rev. D. Hunt, Rev. Mr. Park, Dr. Williams, Mr. Gros- vener, each \$2, Dr. Holt, Geo. Matthewson, each \$1.....	10 00
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<i>Danielson</i> —Thomas Backus, Sa- rah Danielson, each \$1.....	2 00
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<i>Brooklyn</i> —Edwin Newberry, Dor- cas Robinson, each \$2, Han- nah Cady, Esther Smith, Mary Ann Scarborough, Sarah Wil- liams, Mrs. Charles White, G. Robinson, Eliz. Baker, John A. Welch, D. Tyler, each \$1.....	13 00
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<i>Windham</i> —Justin Swift.....	1 00
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<i>Tolland</i> —J. R. Flynt, \$3, E. W. & E. J. Smith, Moses Under- wood, D. P. Waldo, each \$1..	6 00
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<i>Somers</i> —Orson Wood, \$5, Marcus Woodward, Jerusha Pease, Sa- rah R. Pease, Oliver Chapin, Oliver Collins, Wm. Collins, Dr. E. E. Hamilton, each \$1, L. E. Pease, Kibbe & Holmes, Sol. Fuller, Warren Kibbe, Noah C. Collins, each 50 cts., Job Hurburt, Lester K. Grove, Asa Kibbe, each 25 cts.....	15 25
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<i>Enfield</i> —F. A. Hamilton, \$3, Rev. F. L. Robbins, \$2, John Pease, \$1 25, Louisa N. Pease, 12 cts., Seth Terry, 20 cts., Daniel P. Chapin, Eph. Potter, Albert Parsons, A. L. Spalding, A. Friend, A. Stillman, L. Pierce,	
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H. S. Belcher, Horace King, David Brainard, Jabez King, Geo. Meveham, each \$1, Orson Terry, \$1 50, Philo Beers and wife, Albert King, Adolphus King, each 75 cts., Seth Phelps, Francis Chapin, Margaret Terry, Harvey Terry, James Pease, Beulah Chapin, Albert Clark, E. B. Alden, Samuel Stillman, Jr., Asbel Terry, James E. Pease, Samuel Chaffee, M. Kingsbury, H. H. Ellis, each 50 cts., D. F. Abbe, Mrs. Borth, L. Kellum, Miss H. T. Pease, Mrs. N. Prior, Mrs. E. Parsons, A. A. Webster, Eliz. Abbe, Geo. Killum, Jehiel Woodward, James Henderson, Sol. Allen, Mrs. Marsh, each 25 cts. 32 57

Thompsonville—Rev. Peter Gordon, David Woodruff, G. W. Martin, Wm. Boyle, each \$1, Moses Davidson, 41 cts., James Ewing, 35 cts., James Ronald, James Bryson, Robert Davidson, David Doig, Wm. Liddell, H. C. Bagg, S. C. Banning, W. Stewart, Thos. Smith, Andrew Davidson, Ralph Bottomly, John Seckell, Alexander Wood, Thomas Dempster, cash, each 50 cts., James Crawford, John Muller, Robert Henderson, Wm. Massey, James Field, John Kenyon, John Brough, Samuel Steel, Robt. Whitworth, James Simpson, Wm. Souble, Isabella Bryson, John Johnson, Alfred Bates, George Strathon, Alex. Mintree, David Luke, Robert Moore, Alex. Law, Jas. Law, Robert Galbraith, J. Webster, Moses Hallas, Wm. Lowry, Wm. Bragginton, Robt. Moore, Wm. Parker, Wm. Cook, Jas. Prickett, John Field, Geo. Prior, Mr. Taylor, Robert Young, Chas. Young, Jas. Alexander, Wm. McCrone, Henry Richmond, John Naylor, Henry Wadden, David Calhoun, Thos. McCroy, Alex. Leech, Hugh Gray, John Young, Jos. Young, Matthew Muller, Walter Davidson, cash, Mrs. Sloan, each 25 cts., Geo. Black, John Smith, David Hallas, Hugh Young, Andrew Alcom, James Galway, each 12½ cts., David Hood, C. Creelman, each 10 cts. 25 46

Warehouse Point—Mrs. Phelps.. 50

South Glastenbury—J. Post, Horatio Hollister, each \$2, Martin

Hollister, Henry Dayton, each \$1..... 6 00

Glasterbury—Norman Hubbard, to constitute himself a life member of the American Colonization Society, \$30, David Hubbard, Geo. Plummer, each \$5, Oliver Hale, Benjamin Taylor, Thad. Wells, each \$2, Osrim Wells, \$1, Eleazur Sellers, 50 cts.... 47 50

600 78

NEW JERSEY.

Newark—Legacy left the American Colonization Society by the late David Tichenor, Esq..... 1000 00

Woodbridge—Collection in the Rev. Wm. B. Barton's congregation..... 10 00

1010 00

PENNSYLVANIA.

Philadelphia—Donation from the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, for the benefit of the captives of the "Pons," by Paul T. Jones, Esq., treasurer..... 203 75

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